1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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TRIBAL STUDIES IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

CHAPTER X

THE KATAB AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

101 *General.*—There is a group of tribes situated in the Zaria and Plateau Provinces which speak a common tongue and display so much uniformity of cultural traits that the group may almost be regarded as constituting a single tribe and each division of the group as constituting a sub-tribe. There is, however, no political cohesion between the divisions and no consciousness of relationship other than that conferred by continuous social intercourse. The group includes the Katab, Kachichere, Morwa, Ataka, and Kagoro, to use the terms by which they are known to the outside world, though not to themselves.

Closely associated culturally, and to some extent also linguistically, with the above group are the Kaje, Kamantan, Jaba, and Ikulu, and, to a lesser extent, the Kagoma.

[131] The Katab, Kachichere, Kamantan, Ikulu, a section of the Jaba, and a section of the Kaje, are situated in the Zaria Province, while the remainder are in the Plateau Province. The Morwa, Kagoro, and the Plateau section of the Jaba are independent, i.e. they deal directly with the British administrative officer; but the remaining communities are subject to the jurisdiction of the Fulani Emirs of Zaria or Jemaa. It is in some respects unfortunate that a single ethnic unit should be divided between two provinces, and that some sections should be subject to one form of government, and others to another. If this arrangement is necessary for historical and local considerations, care should be exercised that a reasonable amount of administrative uniformity is secured, and that, in such important matters as the regulations governing marriage, modifications in native custom should not be introduced among groups in one province

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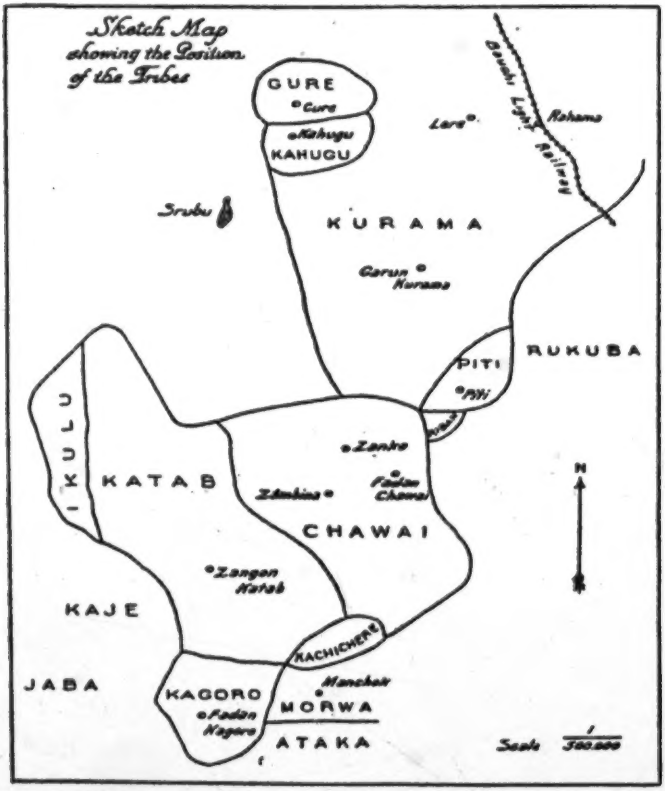
without reference to their effect on fellow-groups in the neighbouring province. To this reference will be made later.

Geography.—The physical character of the country varies considerably. The Katab district may be described generally as undulating, the Morwa as a flat, fertile plain, the Ataka as



hilly, and the Kagoro as a plain flanked by ranges of hills, the most beautiful, perhaps, in the whole of Nigeria. These hills rise to form the plateau from which in comparatively recent times the Kagoro and Ataka descended to their present habitat. The plain country is open savannah with few large trees. It is fairly well watered, the rainfall, at a computation, averaging

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

bush pig, monkey, iguana, rats, etc., but do not (like the Kagoro) eat dog's flesh. Horse and camel flesh are taboo.[13]

KATAB OF ZANGON KATAB DISTRICT

LOCATION: POPULATION

Zangon Katab District is the south-easternmost District of Zaria Emirate. South of it, still in Zaria Province, are the Independent Districts of Moroa, Kagoro, and Jaba (east to west), and, for a short space between the last two named, a narrow projection from the main body of Jema'a District (Jema'a Emirate and Division), Plateau Province. The Katab proper share the District primarily with Ikulu, Kaje and Kamantan, tribes of the Katab Group, north and west of the Katab, and the Kachichere, south-east; and also with Atsam (Chawai), "Ribawa" (the people of Riban village), both affiliated with the peoples of the High Plateau, and a minor salient of Kurama, in the Chawai tribal area to the east. Zangon Katab Town, seat of the District head (an official of the Emirate entitled Katuka) is primarily Hausa, an island in the heart of the Katab tribal area. Throughout the District there are small enclaves of Hausa craftsmen, particularly smiths, which probably antedate the Fulani conquest, and scattered bands of semi-nomadic Fulani, who appear to have made the District their headquarters for so long that they have adopted the name Kachichere, after their centre, the "Kachichere Plateau." Apart from Zangon Katab Town (population, 1,952, *c.* 1948), there are probably no very great concentrations of population anywhere in the District; it is one of the more densely populated, but the peoples depend largely on agriculture and shifting cultivation prevails, so that it can be assumed that the population is fairly evenly distributed.[14]

The total population of the District was 65,238 in the N.A. Census, 1948–9, and the area approximately 580 square miles,[15] giving a density of 112 per square mile. The population of the Katab tribe was 16,965.[16]

[13] Camels are, of course, a great rarity, occasionally reaching Zangon Katab market in trains from Kano and farther north at the height of the dry season; as has been noted, even horses are not plentiful in the area.

[14] At first sight, Zaria records seem to contradict this statement, showing the population of Gidan Jattau (Jatto) and Zonzon, both Katab, as 2,368 and 2,184 respectively, and, for example, Fadan Kamantan, 3,343, Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956, etc. These figures, however, refer to Village-areas; the size of these is unknown and there is no available evidence that any one of them constitutes a greater concentration of population than any other.

[15] The Census of 1931 gives the area of Zangon Katab District as 316 square miles, and that of Chawai District—later attached to Zangon Katab—as 204 square miles. Something like 60 square miles of Kaje tribal territory was annexed from Jema'a Division, Plateau Province, in 1934. The accuracy of the total given here is doubted by Reynolds, who has estimated the Kaje, Kamantan, and Ikulu tribal areas of the District—slightly less than half the total area of the District, to judge from the map, with less than half the total population—to total "about 450 square miles," with a density of around 68 per square mile.

[16] In addition, 1,820 Katab are returned from Kagoro District, 1,062 from Moroa, and five from Kachia, totalling 19,812 for the Province. (The possibility that those of Kagoro and Moroa may be communities of long standing, referred to by Temple, and perhaps partly or, by now, wholly assimilated by their hosts, is further considered below: see under *Dress*, cf. also Kaninkon; Kagoro.) "Hausa" of Zangon Katab District numbered 5,621, the remainder of the District total being non-Hausa indigenes. No figure is given for nomad Fulani in 1948, whose residence appears to be largely seasonal: in the Chawai area of the District alone the number has been reported to range from a peak of 5,400 (1928) to as low as 2,400 (1932). A. D. Percival estimated in 1932 that as many as 10,000 Fulani passed through the District annually. In general, the Fulani of the District circulate between the Kachichere Plateau and Jema'a, Keffi and Abuja Emirates, southward, and northward possibly as far as the Kano border and the Ningi Bush: there is no record of the effects on the local Fulani population of the virtual closing of the High Plateau to nomad herdsmen in the mid-'30s, which resulted in a mass-movement of Fulani from that area to the Mambila Plateau of the Northern Cameroons and beyond.

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KANINKON

In 1909 the boundary between Zaria and the former Nasarawa Province ran from the vicinity of the Irigwe village of Kwon (Kwall), westward immediately to the north of Zangon Katab, thence in a south-westerly direction between Gora and Zangon Katab: thus, a large part of the Katab tribal area lay in Nasarawa Province. Subsequently boundary adjustments appear to have been made whereby Zaria acquired that part of Zangon Katab District which had till then been administered in Nasarawa Province (apparently including most if not all of Minyam clan territory and two-thirds of Agbat, the Hausa enclave of Zangon Katab, the Kachichere tribal area, virtually the whole of the Kaje tribal area, even Pari Village-area of the Chawai tribal area).

These details are important, because Temple ceased collecting materials for Northern Nigerian Tribes and Emirates only in 1916, and may well have failed to take into account this boundary change. Temple's description of Katab states that they have "one township over the border in Nassarawa Province," conceivably referring thus to the mass of Katab in Nasarawa described above. On the other hand, Brice-Smith (1922) noted that the Katab tribe "do not extend elsewhere except in one village, Tum, across the provincial boundary in the Jema'a Division of Nassarawa Province." There is in fact a hamlet of that name in Kagoro Independent District (a part of Jema'a Division until 1934): as has been indicated already, Kagoro is known to harbour a number of Katab immigrants. The search for Katab affiliates might well have stopped here, but for a cryptic note by A. B. Mathews which appears to suggest that Kaninkon refer to themselves as *Tum:* here is the admittedly tenuous link closing the circuit between Katab, Kagoro, Kachichere, and Kaninkon; the possibility of a closer connection between them than can yet be demonstrated is not to be overlooked.

Neither the meaning nor origin of these names can be stated, nor is it known by whom they are used at the present time.

POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The bulk of the Kaninkon occupy a fairly compact quadrangle, at least 30 square miles in area, near the south-westernmost extremity of the Kachichere Plateau, and at the base of that salient of Jema'a District which terminates in Kafanchan Town, on the Zaria border. They are thus separated from the main body of the Katab tribe by the Kafanchan tribe of Jema'a District, by Kaje, by Kagoro, and by the very considerable cosmopolitan centre, Kafanchan Town.

The most recent population figures available for the Kaninkon tribe are those compiled by Mathews (1934): Ambam (Anban), 251; Amere (Amare, Amre), 461; Bakin Kogi, 285; Gerti (Garte), 321; Ungwar Baki, 525; Ungwar Peri (Fari), 448; total, 2,291. A seventh village, Gwaska, identified by administration as Kaninkon, is located within this area; an eighth, Kwagiri, is located in the Yeskwa area of Kagoma-Yeskwa District. The Forestry Reconnaissance Map of Jema'a Division of 1948 shows Amere to be a dispersed settlement, with wards (Ungwar Sarkin Amere, Amere, and Old Amere) scattered the entire length and breadth of Kaninkon territory in Jema'a District.

The precise extent of Kaninkon territory is not known, so that the density of population cannot be established, but Mathews gave the density of Jema'a District (including the population of Kafanchan Town) as approximately 26 per square mile in 1934.

The only available account of Kaninkon is that compiled by Mathews. Virtually the whole of the Kachichere Plateau appears to have been "subject" to the Sarkin Kajuru (see Kachichere, below), at least until the rise of the Fulani. Mathews writes: "originally they had one chief for the whole tribe, and separate priests for each village. But during Fulani times the two sections, the Black Kaninkon and the White Kaninkon, fell out with one another because the latter, who are regarded as being of lower status than the Black . . . . refused any longer to be regarded as a reservoir for providing more than their fair share of the annual tribute of slaves to

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KANINKON
Kachichere

Jema'a. So they seceded, made their own chief, and their own arrangements about tribute to Jema'a."

From this point, Mathews' account becomes somewhat difficult to interpret: " A senior branch of the Kaninkon . . . comprises the towns of Amere, Bakin Kogi, and Gerti. [This is presumably the " Black " section of the tribe, though Mathews fails to label it as such.] They say that they were conquered by the Fulani and thereafter paid them tribute, but that each town had its own *jekada* and brought its own tribute to Jema'a. At first, when the Fulani had not come to Jema'a, they had one chief for them all [that is, a paramount chief of Kaninkon, presumably] and another one for the " Black " [spokesmen from which are informing here?] and " White " Kaninkon [that is, one " chief " for each section: see also below] . . . and [still another for] Ambam. But after the split there were separate chiefs, and they would not be prepared to unite now. . ."

It would appear that the sectional chiefs of the second paragraph quoted are perhaps the " separate priests for each village " of the first paragraph, and that the people of Amare, Bakin Kogi, and Garte constituted one local unit or village (" Black "), while Ungwar Peri and Ungwar Baki constituted another (" White "); the unique position of Ambam remains, however, to be explained. The position of the " paramount chief " cannot be determined precisely on the basis of the material here presented: he might have been the intermediary between the body of village priests and Sarkin Kajuru; or a ritual specialist of some sort with a wider than usual following (cf. the *teowap* of Shokwa, etc., under Katab, above).

According to Mathews, Kaninkon intermarry with the people of Nindam village, immediately south of Kaninkon territory (see Kachichere, below). Smith reports that Kagoro tradition describes Kaninkon as friends and allies of Kagoro (like Kagoro's Katab, Kafanchan and Jaba neighbours): this, apparently, in spite of the fact that Kaninkon submitted to Kagoro's Hausa-Fulani enemies, and may well have joined in raids on neighbouring tribes such as the Kagoro who resisted the power of Jema'a.

No other information is available regarding the Kaninkon and their culture.

Kachichere (Aticherak) of Zangon Katab District; " Daroro " of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Affiliations: Traditions of Origin

South-east of the seven Village-areas of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, which constitute the (unofficial) Katab tribal area, against the northern border of Moroa Independent District, lie the Village-areas of Kachichere Arna and Pari—on the westernmost spur of the High Plateau, a peak of which rises to some 4,000 ft. above the village of Kachichere. Kachichere Arna (population 276, *c.* 1948) is inhabited largely by Aticherak—the Hausa corruption of which name is the more familiar " Kachichere." Pari is a Chawai (Atsam) community, but contains the important Aticherak hamlet of Lungu (population 520, in 1950). The total figure given in the N.A. Census of 1948–9 for Aticherak in Zangon Katab District (and Zaria Province) is 699; the slightly greater total of the two villages may be due to a small number of Hausa smiths in Kachichere Arna Village-area.[37]

[37] The designation Kachichere Arna, Hausa " Pagan Kachichere," implies the existence of another hamlet or village, Kachichere Hausawa: the Hausa smiths of Kachichere are famous, having settled there under the protection of the Sarkin Kajuru perhaps 200 years ago. These smiths seem to have been the source of swords among the Kagoro (and no doubt other tribes in the vicinity) which Meek and others have regarded as symbols of chieftaincy and of subordination to Kajuru: Smith, however, was told by Kagoro informants that the swords were given by itinerant Kajuru Hausa smiths out of Rahama, Kachichere, and other Hausa settlements, to those in Kagoro who were able to guarantee the safety of the smiths in their " unsettled " community, which suggests a system of commercially organized exploitation rare in Nigeria. Very little information is available regarding Kauru and the swords

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

According to Smith, there are two communities of Aticherak origin in Kagoro District—Dussai (population 230) and Mafok (435): these have been so assimilated by Kagoro that they cannot seriously be considered as Aticherak, even though they have maintained a certain degree of integrity.

The people termed by Temple and Tremearne "Daroro" are apparently those called Kachichere in very recent years by the Administration of Jema'a Division: these Kachichere are located in a triangular area, Jagindi Station-Ungwar Audi-Nindam, some 35 square miles in area, virtually at the heart of Jema'a District, to the south of Kaninkon and 15 miles from Kafanchan Town. Their identity with the Daroro tribe depends on the accuracy of Temple's statement that Nindam (a Kachichere village, according to the latest information) is "the only town in their occupation," that is, of the Daroro. It is of interest that the account of the founding of Jema'a Emirate given by Temple, who appears to have been unaware of any connection between Daroro and Kachichere, tends to support, by strong implication, Administration's innovation in nomenclature.[38] The Daroro were "conquered and drive out [of Kachichere territory] by the Fulani, *c.* 1805–10." to their present abode. It is also significant that the high plains "undulating and dotted with hills" between Kachichere Area and Jagindi have been known in former times by the name Kachichere Plateau.

The most recent population figures available are those of Mathews (1934):

Village [39]	*Population*
Akwa	114
Danguwa (Dangwa)	196
Nindam Kogo (Nindam)	206
Numbu	247
Zangan Kogo (Zankan)	259
Total	1,022

According to the traditions collected by Brice-Smith and others in Zaria, Aticherak claim to have been the "original" inhabitants of the present-day Katab tribal area, to have extended hospitality to Katab immigrants, and to have been crowded subsequently into the narrow pocket which they now inhabit by the armed incursions of Kagoro, Moroa (Asolio), and Aten. They may have some special affinity with Atsam (Chawai) their neighbours on the north; at Lungu, informants have stated that all Aticherak are related to Atsam of Pari (cf. Ungwar Peri of Fari (Pari) in Jema'a District). They were subjects, apparently willing ones and as such special favourites, of the Sarkin Kajuru, before the Jihad, as were Ikulu, Kamantan, even the Kachichere, Fulani and probably others among their neighbours.[40] It is not known to what extent Aticherak of Zangon Katab District maintain relations with their kinsmen of Nindam-Daroro.

traced ultimately to the influence of that petty kingdom, but it appears that Zangon Katab was founded by Kauru, and Zango's fame as a centre of craftsmen suggests a similar system. (It will be recalled that Kauru is reputed to have been founded by a man of Wadai; the chiefs of Kajuru are said to be Beriberi—Kanuri—in origin.) Cf. tradition relating to dispersion of Maguzawa smiths from the environs of Kano City in the 14th century, reported by Temple.

[38] "Jema'a was founded by Mallam Usuman. . . . He went to Zaria . . . and received permission to enter Kachichere territory, where, with a following of cattle Fulani, he settled in the neighbourhood of Jema'ar Daroro—which probably received its name from the people Daroro inhabiting that mountain."

[39] Whatever its traditions of origin, Administration regards Akwa as assimilated by the "aboriginal" Numana peoples of Jema'a District, though the traditions of a miraculous local origin of the Numana on the Kachichere Plateau may indicate some kind of an early link with Aticherak. The present-day list of villages recognized by Administration indicates considerable dispersal since 1934; the list includes Ungwar Anga, Ungwar Audi, Ungwar Madaki, Ungwar Magaji, Ungwar Makeranta, and Ungwar Umaru, in addition to Danguwa, Nindam Kogo, and Zangan Kogo (Numbu has disappeared from the list).

[40] Some of whom, however, appear to have resisted the claims of Kajuru.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

IKULU

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Little information is available concerning the people generally termed Ikulu or Ikolu in the literature.[47] According to Brice-Smith, they call themselves *Ankulu*: the meaning of this name is not indicated.

The latest population figures available for Zaria Province as a whole (N.A. Census of 1948–9) indicate that the Ikulu tribe is found exclusively in Zangon Katab District, where they number 5,961: the bulk of these are found in the northern quarter of the District, north of the main centres of Kaje and Katab concentration, but their hamlets and farms are reported to be intermingled with farms of Kaje (and Katab) pioneers pushing forward out of the more thickly settled areas to the south, and those of Kamantan, to the west. Predominantly Ikulu Village-areas are (figures returned *c.* 1948): Anchuna, 1,596; Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956; Padan (=Fadan) Ikulu, 1,042; total, 5,594. Besides Ikulu in the north, however, there are a number of communities to the south and east of the District among Katab, Atsam, and others: many of these appear to have been absorbed by the local society, but in some cases (e.g., Kwiambana Ikulu, in Pari Village-area of Chawai) they appear to have preserved their identity; it is not known which if any of these emigrant Ikulu are included in the 1948–9 total for the District (and Province).[48]

Before the Ikulu of Kachia District were transferred to Zangon Katab, *c.* 1925, the three Ikulu Village-areas named above appear already to have emerged as distinct entities, with recognized heads; further, they appear to have simply absorbed the Ikulu hamlets which came to the District from Kachia. The possibility that Kamuru may occupy the position of *primus inter pares* is discussed below. It should be noted that the Ikulu Village-area heads do not administer the immigrant Kaje among them, according to Reynolds: these Kaje are still dependent on their parent villages in the south, through which they continue to pay their taxes.

Meek states (in MS. notes) that the Ikulu are sub-divided into four "wife-stealing" units[49] distributed among the villages—which are basically exogamous units (cf. Kaje, below)—as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*
Ekawranyi	Dissin Ungvya Unduru Ikum
Unchera	?
Ampak	Balto Ansong Lisum
Ayinti	Kunyekuni Kito

Of the villages named, only Balto can be tentatively identified as Bato, in the immediate vicinity of Fadan Ikulu. It may well be that the villages of each "wife-stealing" unit are interspersed among those of the remainder, but it is not

[47] In a report, "Ethnographical notes on Wurkun District, Adamawa Province," Meek refers to Ikulu as "the Ba-Kulu of Zaria Province": in *Tribal Studies* he notes that "the Kaje . . . call . . . the Ikulu the Bakulu," whence, apparently, he has adopted the name.

[48] Kwiambana Ikulu in 1960 had a total population of 161; adult males, 35. See also below.

[49] Presumably units outside of which secondary wives must be sought, though the term appears to be used in both inclusive and exclusive senses. Meek notes also that a man does not seek a secondary wife in a village from which he has taken a primary wife: it is not clear from this whether the "wife-stealing" unit is endogamous, perhaps, so far as primary marriage is concerned.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAMANTAN
KAGORO
KAFANCHAN

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN: AFFILIATIONS: CULTURAL DETAILS

The only account purporting to represent indigenous traditions of origin is Reynolds'; according to his information, Angan believe themselves to be Kagoro emigrants. Temple, on the other hand, calls the Kamantan tribe an " off-set " of the Kadara. Linguistic evidence seems to support Reynold's contention, nor has Meek alleged any particular connection with Kadara of Ankuwa (Kachia District), where he has done some research.[57] Whether any relationship, linguistic or otherwise, exists between Angan and other of their neighbours, such as Kagoma, Kuturmi or Koro, remains to be demonstrated.

So far as cultural affiliation with members of the Katab Group is concerned, " wife-stealing " is practised, as already noted, as well as affinal marriage, with widows of grandfather, father, and brother. Angan were also head-hunters and use the common Katab tribal markings. Meek's notes are not entirely clear on the subject of the *oyam* or in the matter of the distinctive Katab-type house; in his lists of tribes subscribing to these two traits he fails to name Kamantan but does not explicitly except it from the Katab Group on these counts (as he does Kagoma, on the count of the *oyam*, for example).

The Angan high god is called Shenya—conceivably cognate with Ashila of Kurama, though the hypothesis cannot be proved on the basis of any materials at present available. Meek notes the belief that pythons contain the souls of living men and may not therefore be killed; a python found dead is buried but may not be touched. He also found some indication of special respect for the rock coney (hyrax) at Ashin village—whether among members of both exogamous units, specifically stated to be not related, is not clear.

KAGORO (AGOLOK) AND KAFANCHAN

LOCATION: POPULATION

The great bulk of Kagoro (Hausa corruption of Agolok [*g* with lip-rounding] or Agwolok)[58] inhabit Kagoro Independent District of Zaria Province, administered through a tribal chief, and separate from Zaria Emirate.

Population (N.A. Census, 1949–50)	*Area*, Kagoro District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
12,966	66 square miles	196 per square mile

Of the total population of the District, 10,566 were Kagoro.[59] As regards density, Smith states that over a quarter of the area is a rocky massif and if arable land alone is considered the density is probably more like 300 per square mile.

Outside Kagoro Independent District, there is a sizeable Kagoro population only in Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province, in territory immediately south of Kagoro District.

Population [60]	*Area*, Jema'a District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
19,917	676 square miles	29 per square mile

[57] According to one report, however, Ankuwa claims a Zonkwa origin (Kaje area), and " the dialect differs distinctly " from that of other Kadara (cf. Meek's information on Ankuwa's relation to Kaje and others, cited under Ikulu, above). Ankuwa is said to lie on the cultural boundary between Kadara and Kuturmi, it should be noted.

[58] Meaning uncertain. Rendered Aguro by Morwa, Agwot by Katab.

[59] In 1948–9, the Kagoro tribal figure was given as 9,258; in 1947–8, 8,999; showing a rise in population of approximately 14% and 3% respectively, or an average of 8.5%. The degree of accuracy represented in these figures is questionable.

[60] Total population, all tribes in District: the figure given here, presumably returned by an N.A. Census, was found entered in the Divisional Notes on Procedure, at Kafanchan, date uncertain, but possibly as recent as 1948. On the basis of the number of adult males returned by the N.A. Census of 1947–8 (7,466), and the ratio of adult males to the total population indicated by the Census of 1930 (about 34%), the figure seems quite reasonable for 1948.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO
MORORA
ATAKA

 794

imbhweh and the chief. In 1934, the chief was deposed in favour of another and *imbhweh* was suppressed, both by Administrative action, but apparently with the support of the people. 668

Missions

Smith indicates that during the troubled period of *imbhweh* mission converts suffered greatly from atrocities committed against them by both sides. But he judges that the Kagoro early responded favourably to the Protestant mission teaching and adopted many of the culture elements it introduced, such as schools, literacy in Hausa, innovations in building and in dress, and agricultural and medical amenities. The senior mission came in 1926. In recent years a second mission has entered the district and also a Southern Nigerian representative of an African Christian sect. 797 798

Islam does not appear to have made any progress among Kagoro.

Moroa (Asolio) and Ataka

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Traditions of Origin

Moroa Independent District lies in south-eastern Zaria Province, bounded by the easternmost extension of the Zangon Katab District of Zaria Emirate on the north, Kagoro Independent District on the west, the Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province, on the south, and the Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province, on the east. It represents essentially an extension of the plains of Zangon Katab and Northern Kagoro, and the rugged heights of the central sector of Kagoro District. Its chief natural distinction is a thick belt of fan palms lying in the plains north of the Kafanchan-Jos railway, which virtually bisects the District. Tremearne described the area as being "open and very rich, most of the visible area being under cultivation at some time or another." 131 133 [137]

The N.A. Census of 1948-9 returned the following figures for the population of the District: 162

"Tribe"	
Moroa	5,726
Atakar	3,294
Katab	1,062
Hausa	286
Ibo	36
Fulani	22
Fallomi **	17
Tiv	7
Yoruba	5
	10,455

With the exception of the Fulani, who are probably predominantly pastoralists, the small "stranger" and "native foreigner" population is concentrated near the railway, mainly in the vicinity of Manchok station, engaged in trading. 563

The area of the District, according to the Census of 1931, is 143 square miles; density (1948), 73 per square mile. Since, however, a sizeable portion of Moroa, upon Kagoro Rock and in the kurmi to the south, is not arable, actual density of population must be rather more than the figure indicates. 131 161

Reynolds in 1950 reported 311 Asolio, in two villages or hamlets, along the northern border of Moroa District, in the Pari Village-area of Zangon Katab 162

** "Fallomi" or "Forlomi": Hausa corruption of Fort-Lamy; applied in Nigeria to immigrants from the Chad region of French Equatorial Africa.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka

162 District, who claim to have been isolated from their close kin and neighbours in Moroa District by the boundary drawn by Administration some 30 years earlier.

101 According to Meek, the origin of the name Moroa, (Morwa, Maruwa) is unknown.[97] The people to whom this name is applied by Hausa and by Europeans call themselves Asolio (Osholio, Aholio).[98] According to Tremearne, Asolio claim to have migrated from Zaria (Meek specifies Yelwa, immediately to the north in Zangon Katab District; see Kachichere, p. 83, above) via Kafanchan to their present site.[99] Smith was told by Kagoro informants that Kagoro and Aten (of Ganawuri) were in contact in the area now designated Moroa District and in more or less continual conflict; when the ancestor of the Moroa tribe (Shaliyot) approached them to ask for land, he was given the area bordering on Ganawuri, the present Moroa District. It is of some interest that Asolio constitute the only sizeable "tribal" group in this entire area contained largely in a single District.

● 131 Ataka (Attakka; commonly rendered Atakar by Hausa scribes) occupy the eastern half of Kagoro Rock, from the environs of Kadarko, in Kagoro District, and also the lower-lying areas south and east in Moroa District and beyond to the foot of the Plateau escarpment, across the borders of Jema'a District and the Birom Tribal Area, as far as Nimbia (Gwandara or Karshe "tribe") and Assob (Birom). The origin and meaning of the name is nowhere stated, but it conforms so closely 101 to Katab forms that it seems likely to be indigenous: according to Ames, Ataka were traditionally co-residents with Aten of an area at the centre of which the present-day village of Takwot is located, which suggests one possible origin and meaning.[100]

161 The exact number of Ataka residing outside Moroa District is uncertain. The Census of 1931 gives 2,873 as the total number of Ataka in all areas (in 1921 Ataka were classified with Kagoro and Moroa); in 1934 A. B. Mathews counted some 384 in Jema'a District alone; the N.A. Census of 1948–9 returned 669 in Kagoro District; no count is available for Ataka of the Birom Tribal Area. A round figure of 5,000 is suggested for Ataka in all areas at the present time.

Social Structure: Local Organs of Authority: Miscellaneous Cultural Details

631 The history of the administration of Moroa District has been uneventful, probably because Moroa early developed a *modus vivendi* with the powers of the region—Kajuru and/or Kauru, and the Hausa and Fulani kings of Zaria—so that a central authority grew up around the Chief of Manchok ("Agwam Asholio" in Provincial Records).

It was stated in 1934, at the time of the transfer of Moroa District from Plateau to Zaria Province, that "the District contains 24 villages" presumably including Asolio, Ataka, and one Katab (Kaura), "the heads of which are responsible direct to the Agwam Asholio"—this state representing a degree of fragmentation unequalled in this part of Zaria, at least, and perhaps going far to explain the relative stability of the District.

361 There is no record in Zaria of subsequent reorganization, grouping these villages into a limited number of "Village-areas." A total of only 19 villages for the District was found in the Village Directory of the Northern Provinces (Census of 1931), however. Only 14 of these can be identified as Asolio:

[97] As Meek traces Asolio to the Chawai (Atsam) tribal area of Zangon Katab District, it may be recalled that Reynolds found among Atsam evidence of a double unilineal system, the largest matrilineal unit bearing the name "Marowan".

[98] Cf. Shaliyot, given by Smith's Kagoro informants as Moroa "tribal ancestor."

[99] Cf. Traditions of Kurama, the people of Kauru District, and the Katab. Meek gives "Asalio" as the name of a lineage of the "aboriginal" Aku clan of Katab (see table, p. 72, above, *Religious Beliefs*, below).

[100] Cf. Takwot and Ataka (Atakar).

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka
Kaje

Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) [105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wahili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

Kaje (Baju)[108]

Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje
Jaba

According to Reynolds, it is believed that the dead have an underground abode, Yatbin, where they live much as they did on earth enjoying the same status they held in life. Reynolds does not comment on Temple's statement that Kaje believe in reincarnation, nor does he connect totemic beliefs with the belief in life after death.

Missions

Regarding mission activity in Kaje, Reynolds reports that the total membership of Christian congregations in the tribal area may number about 2,000, or rather less than a twelfth of the population: ministers of no less than six sects are present in the area. The influence of the missions is felt well beyond the small circle of converts, however, through the schools which they operate in the area.

Miscellaneous

Kaje economy and land-tenure appear to conform most closely to their Jaba neighbours (described farther below). Kaje are described as particularly commercial-minded, and aggressive in their business dealings, which appears rather to distinguish them from other members of the Katab Group of tribes.

In material culture, including house-building and dress, Kaje are virtually indistinguishable from their neighbours of the Katab Group all around. As regards music, however, both instrumental and vocal, and the dance, they early made an impression on European observers, and appear still to distinguish themselves in these arts.

Jaba (Ham) of Kwoi and Kachia

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Traditions of Origin

South-west of the Kaje tribal area of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, lies the Jaba Independent District of Zaria Province, where the boundaries of Zaria, Plateau (Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate-Division), and Benue (Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Nasarawa Division) Provinces meet. West of Jaba District lies Kagarko District, along the Benue and Niger Provinces border of Zaria; north of Jaba and Kagarko, and west of Zangon Katab is Kachia (Kachiya) District, like Kagarko and Zangon Katab, a District of Zaria Emirate. The whole area is one of considerable "tribal" intermixture. The bulk of the Jaba (Hausa? name: Ham or Hum, in the vernacular) are located in Jaba District, with headquarters at Kwoi (whence the name popularly but unofficially applied to the District).

Population (N.A. Census 1948–9) 16,364; area (Census of 1933) 207 square miles; density 79 per square mile. "Tribal" figures for the District are as follows: Jaba, 14,245; Lungu (Adong), 1,513; Kagoma, 484; Hausa, 122. Some early writers equate Lungu with Yeskwa of Benue and Plateau Provinces, but one investigator calls them "practically a clan of the Koro" of Kagarko, though stressing the many ties linking the two peoples. Kagoma are Katab affiliates and are treated farther below.

A second major concentration of Jaba is found in that portion of Kachia District immediately adjacent to Jaba District, south-east of Kachia Town: population (of entire District) 25,494; area 1,394 square miles; density 19 per square mile. Tribal figures: Jaba, 10,683; Kadara, 7,411; Kuturmi, 2,944; Hausa, 2,985; Kaje, 1,204; others, 271. Traditionally, dating back to Kajuru times, Kachia is a Kadara District, Kuturmi being affiliated with Kadara.

Other Jaba are found in Kagarko District (410 of a total of 26,104), traditionally a Koro-Gbari area, but with an "old" Hausa population, and a sizeable concentration of Fulani; here Jaba appear to be assimilating to Koro pagans. Jaba are also found in Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Benue Province (560 of 12,399); in Keffi District (62 of 21,382); in Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate Division, Plateau Province (a possible 382 of 6,915), in 1938–9.

The total for Jaba of Zaria Province in 1948–9 is 25,356; the total for the three Provinces concerned is therefore *c.* 26,500.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba
Kagoma

As suggested already, the *ku* cult, like the Katab *obwai*, appears to function as a device for the control of women. Even if held in some contempt by the initiated, privately, it apparently still looms large in the sum of religious beliefs of women and children, hence of the whole community. Bringing together Meek's account of initiation and Temple's account of the memorial feast at "the Magajin dodo's house" (almost surely a reference to the *ku* priest), it would appear that the Jaba *ku* cult is, paraphrasing Meek's description of the Katab *obwai*, "a public cult associated apparently with the private ancestral cult."

According to Meek, "all Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals."[127] Members of the "Madaki's ward" of Kwoi, for example, are believed to have the power of turning themselves into leopards. No member of the ward may kill a leopard, and if members of, for example, the Chief's ward should kill one they bring the carcase to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." They then run home, for if they were caught they would be charged with murder. The carcase is taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men where it is ceremonially skinned, with the finger nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by grown-up men, boys receiving some of the "juice." Meek did not discover any other specific associations between local and kin groupings and natural species. As has been noted above, under *Life Cycle*, girls are said to be "initiated into the wer-animal rites," but the passage describing this is not easy to interpret.

No investigator has commented on the influence of the single Protestant mission, long-established in the area, on indigenous religious beliefs, or on any other aspect of Jaba culture.

Kagoma

Location: Population: Affiliations

The bulk of the Kagoma "tribe" inhabits the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Emirate and Division, Plateau Province (see below).

The last available complete figures for the Kagoma of Jema'a date from 1934, when Mathews estimated the population of their sector at 6,126 pagans and 120 Moslems (who are likely to have been largely Hausa, Fulani, and Rumada). Their chief villages here appear to be Fadan Kagoma (seat of the Moslem District head), Asau (Aso), Gabi, Gigira, and Keya. There is a Kagoma salient in the Yeskwa sector of the District, along the Zaria border, centring about the village of Kwarabe. Also in the Yeskwa sector, along the unofficial boundary between the two sectors and east of Kwarabe, lie the villages of Kano, Kirti, and Kusan: these are apparently Kagoma in origin and if so no doubt still have a Kagoma population, but are classified nowadays by Administration as Jaba, having apparently received over the years numbers of immigrants from Jaba Independent District, Zaria Province, in search of farm-lands (on loan, according to Cole).[128] One village or hamlet of unknown size, Unguwar Dogo, lies immediately south of Jagindi, in Jema'a District. Kagoma settlements are to be found outside Plateau Province, beyond the border of Jaba District, in the vicinity of Kurya, and along the border of Yeskwa District in Benue Province near Gitata, with populations of 484 and 85 respectively. The total number of Kagoma may thus be as little as 7,000 at present.

Only Temple's figure for the area of Kagoma settlement—166 square miles—is available, making a density of population of 42 per square mile, perhaps an excessively low figure, since the Kagoma area is an extremely rugged one, broken by an 800-ft. escarpment, the southern half deeply cut by kurmi.

Traditions of origin seem to be lacking, though Mathews reports that Kagoma in the region of Kirti "say that they sprang from places in the hills near where they now live."

[127] Cf. in particular Butawa, farther above.
[128] Kwagiri in this same area is identified on Divisional maps at Kafanchan as Kaniakon.

2: Gunn ●
102, 131, 491, 496, 631

FF38 Katab FF38

Layout of end map:

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

102
131
491
496
631

THE PAGAN PEOPLES OF THE CENTRAL AREA OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

Scale 1/750,000

0 10 MILES 20 30

BOUNDARIES

Provincial
Divisional
Independent District/Emirate
Emirate District
Sub-District
Independent District Names in brackets

Provincial H.Q.
Divisional H.Q.
District H.Q.

Railway
All-season motor-road
Important hills (heights in feet)

[End Map A upper]

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

102
131
491
496
631

[End map B upper]

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

102
131
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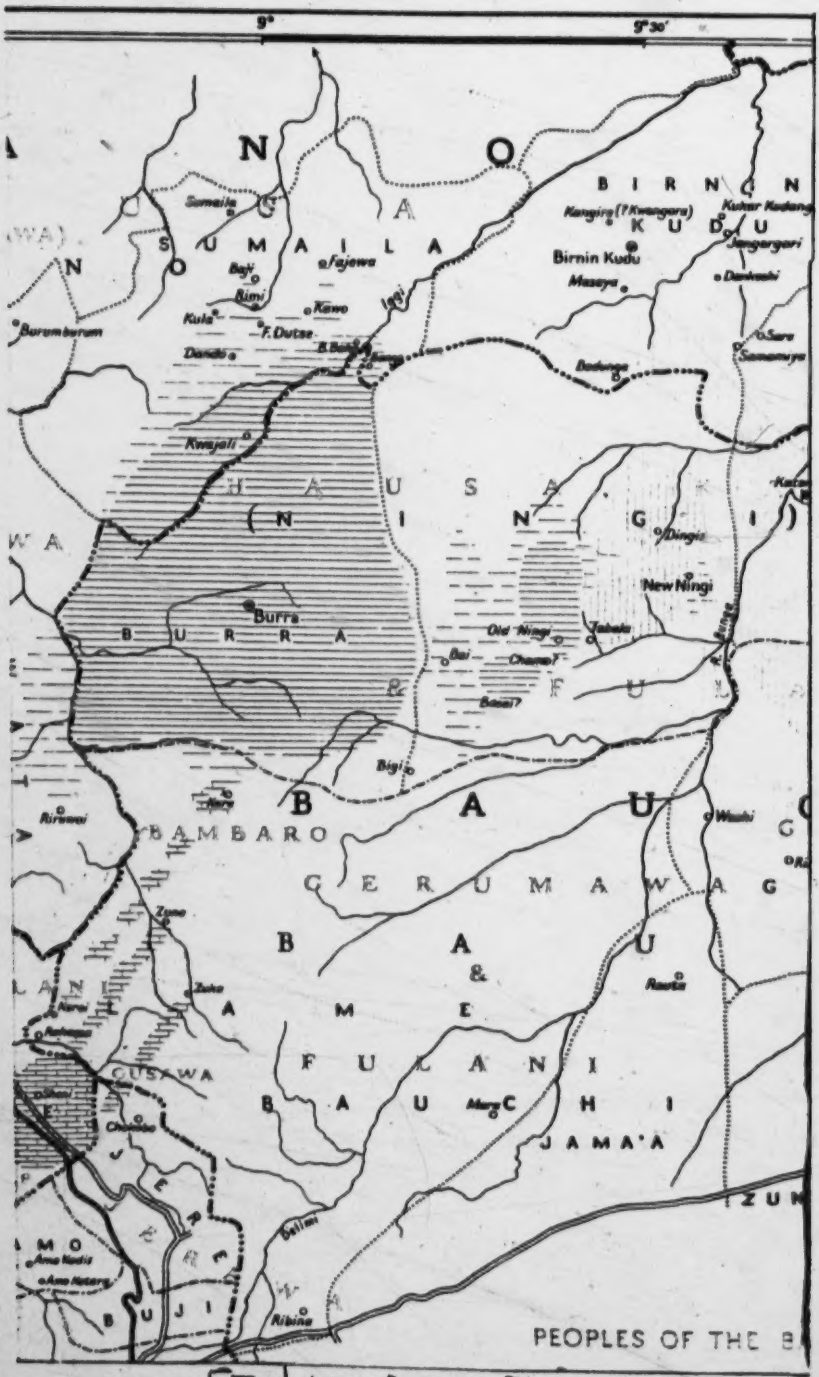

[End map C. upper]

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

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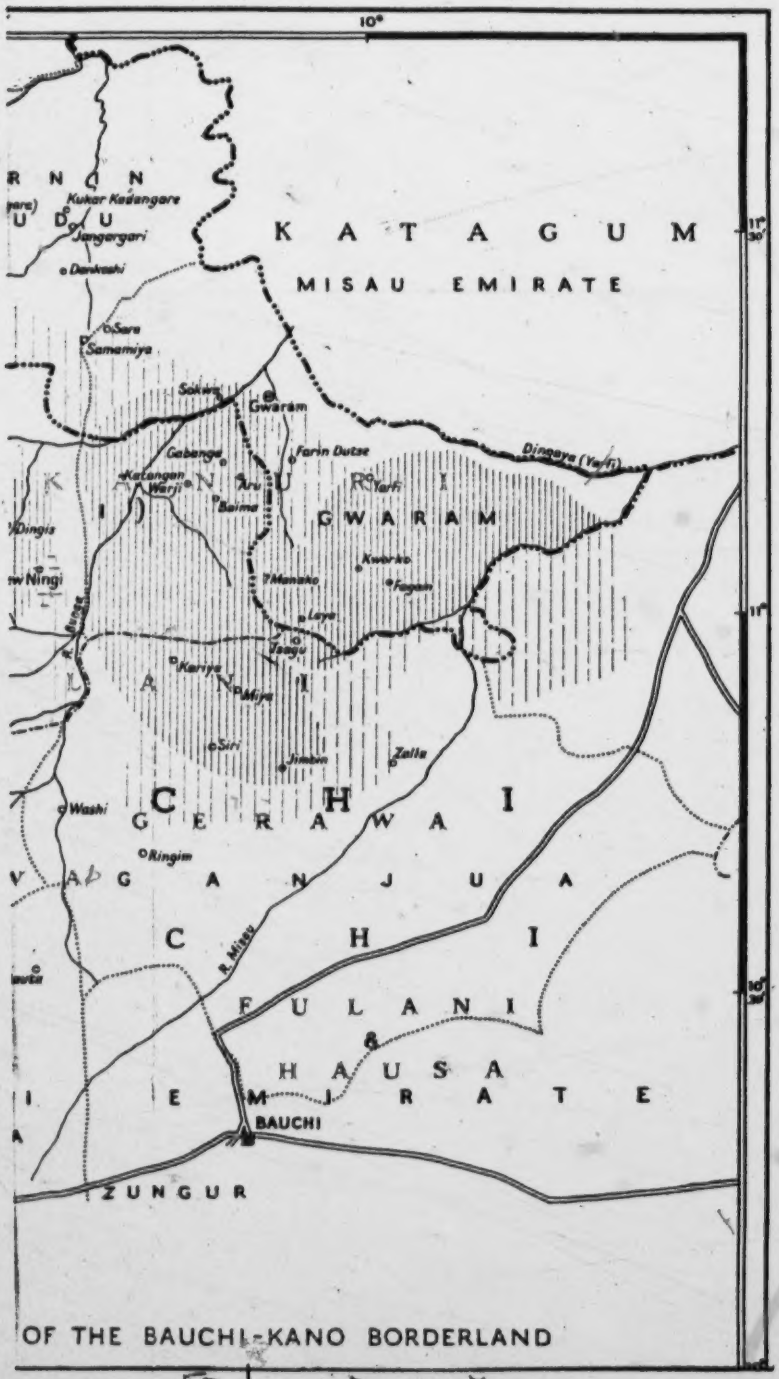

[End map D upper]

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

102
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[End map E lower]

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

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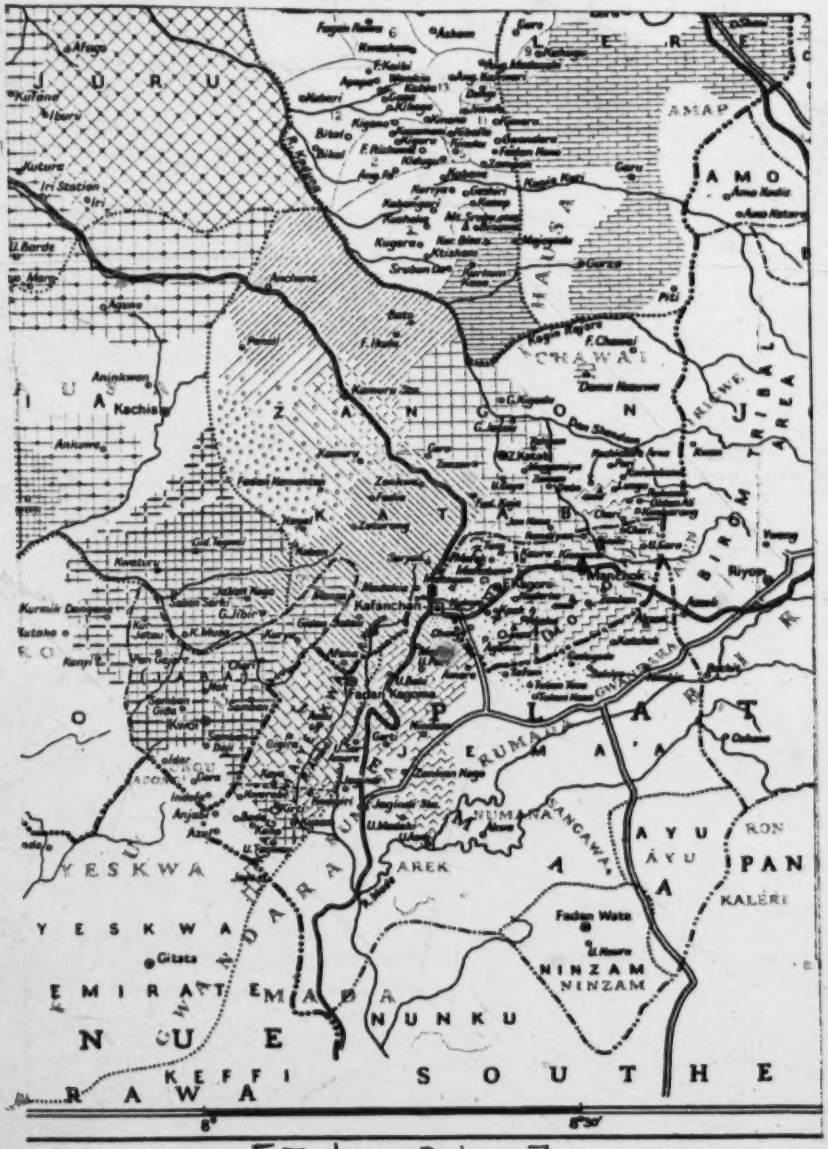

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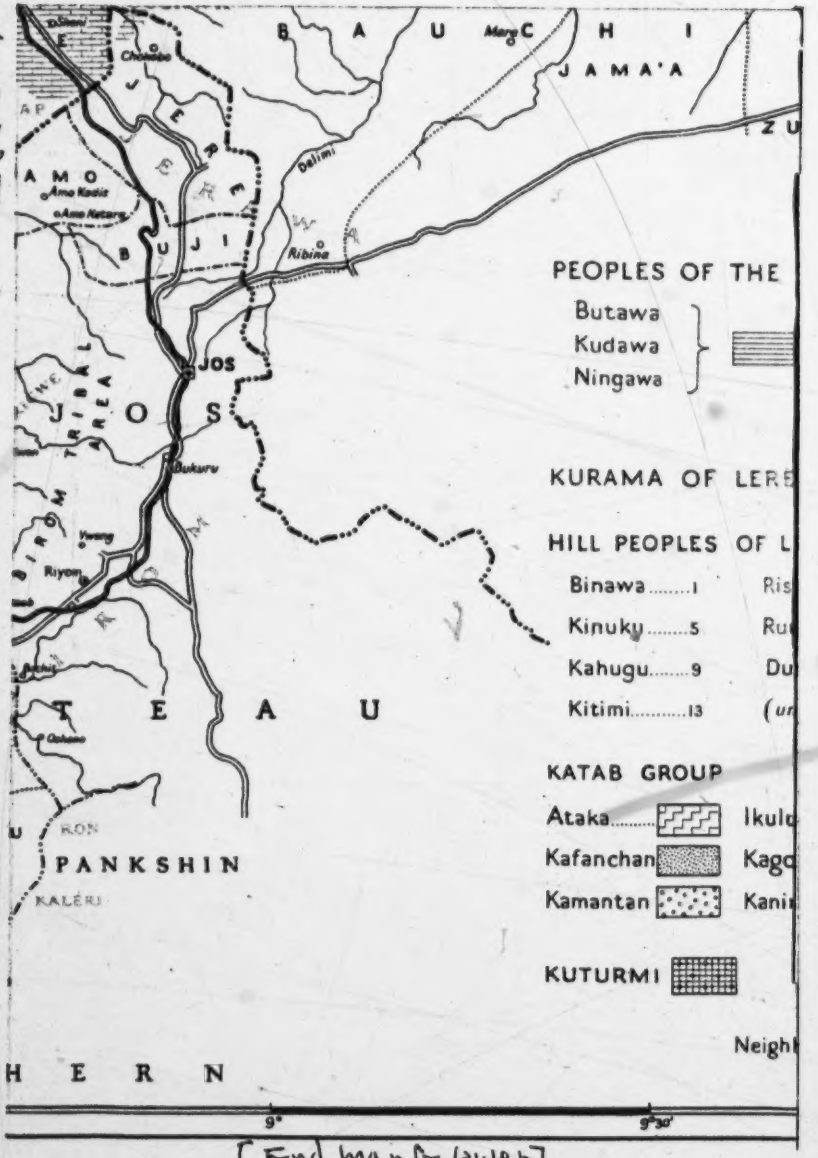

[End map & lower]

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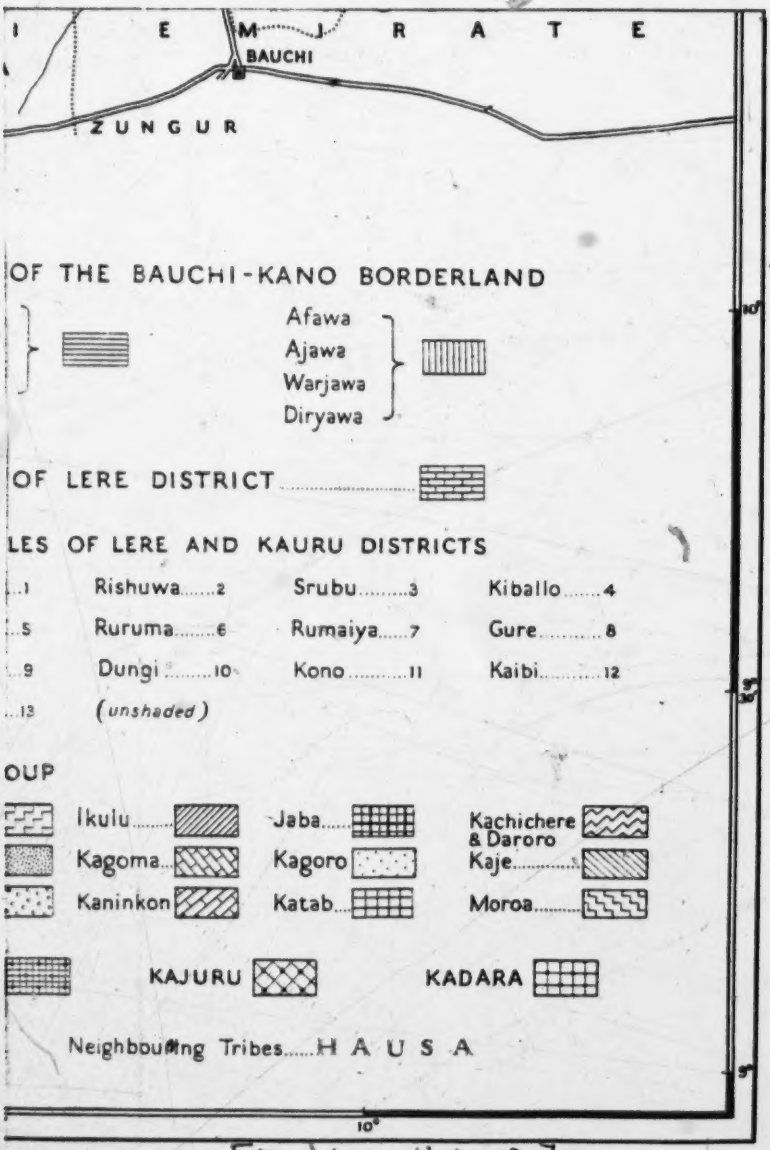

[End map H lower]

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma
Kagoro

the day that they begin to walk their father invites the whole village to a beer orgy. 852

The ceremonies that take place upon death are identical with those practised by the Jaba. A Kagoma widow, however, only mourns for one month and can marry again in the second. Under no circumstances can a woman inherit. 764 [587] [428]

They believe that a departed spirit can return to earth as a shooting star and re-enter upon a fresh sphere of human existence. 775

Sons inherit the whole property, but the younger brother of the deceased has the first choice of the widows. Failing sons, brothers inherit. 428

They believe in an all-powerful god. 776

KAGORO.

AUTHORITIES:

Mr. H. F. Mathews. Major Tremearne.

The Kagoro have a population approaching some 8,500 in number and occupy an area of about 110 square miles in the Jemaa Division, on the northern and western faces of a ridge of mountains, known as Kagoro, which runs from Bauchi into Nassarawa. 131 161

Most of the towns are built at the foot of these hills, where the land is very fertile and large crops of corn, principally maiwa, which is almost exclusively used for drink, and beans are raised. The beans are the property of the women and are grown on trellises, like vines, and form the principal food of the people. Manure from fowls, and goat-dung and ashes are used. Cattle are not kept and there are no markets. 361 241 [273] [23]

In old days the Kagoro lived underground and went to their farms through underground tunnels, owing, they say, to the place being over-run with wild beasts. The villages are now surrounded with high cactus hedges, which grow to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet. In most cases each compound and each field is encircled by one of these. At the entrance the hedges overlap on the principle of a swivel-ring for keys. The walls of the huts are of mud and the roofs of thatch, which latter are renewed every year after the harvest. Each woman has her own house, which is accessible through one, or sometimes two, doors, two and a half to three feet in height. The entrance commonly leads into a low narrow verandah, but sometimes straight into a sort of hall which runs along the whole width of the house, and is used for storing pots, etc. A feature of the doorways is that each one is double and in between each is 173 361 342

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

600 Political Memorandum 5, paragraphs 31(c) and 37.

14. In pre-British times the Emirate was run from its headquarters at Zaria and the surrounding area was divided up into fiefs, each fief having its specific boundaries and its particular obligations to the central authority. When the British arrived these fiefs were abolished. They were replaced by districts each with their paid District Head. As may be imagined these original fiefs paid little or no attention to the status of the indigenous inhabitants *qua* tribe. Neither, accordingly, did the original districts. In 1934, however, these districts were readjusted after detailed investigation and made to accord, as far as this was possible, with the variations in tribal structure. Where a district boundary cut across sections of various tribes the boundary was altered so that as many of one tribe would be incorporated in the same district as could conveniently be managed. Owing, however, to the many vicissitudes of these tribes in past years complete territorial adjustment was not possible. The extent to which the adjustment was accomplished is indicated in Appendix "B". Any reference to 'tribal lands' in this report must therefore be accepted with great caution and with the fact borne in mind that their boundaries, though established with great care and after detailed investigation, are nevertheless the direct result of administrative action affected many years after whatever 'boundaries' may have originally existed had been completely compromised.

15. The same considerations apply to the Hausa enclaves, usually the District Headquarters, in the centres of these tribal lands. Their boundaries, as village units, were fixed, after investigation, by the administration and are a creation of that administration.

INDEPENDENT PAGAN AREAS

16. There are four Independent Districts—Moroa, Kagoro, Kwoi and Birnin Gwari. The Kagoro District was selected as a 'specimen' district for detailed investigation. It is not to be taken for granted that what is written about Kagoro necessarily applies *in toto* to the other three districts. There would, no doubt, be discrepancies and variations. I have no reason to believe, however, that such discrepancies and variations would be anything more than points of detail. The broad pattern is similar in all four districts and the essentialities of the pattern do not change.

KAGORO DISTRICT

Population 162 [3] [311]

17. The Kagoro district contains some 12,000 inhabitants of whom 2,600 are adult males. About a third of the district consists of massive rocky hills and probably less than two-thirds is actually cultivable.

[p. 3]

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro
Jaba

41. As pointed out in the Kano and Plateau Reports it is necessary that the greatest care should be taken when such " registration " takes place in order that no doubt can be left as to precisely what the lender of the land is giving and the borrower receiving. The need for some such form of registration could not be better illustrated than by the District Head's realisation of the need and his attempt to meet that need. Plateau Report paragraph 139. Kano Report paragraph 71. 423 687 217

42. The produce of economic trees belongs to the owner of the farm on which the tree stands. It does not pass either with exchange, loan or pledge. The produce of economic trees not on farmlands, *e.g.*, the oil palms in the kurumi, is held to be public property and anyone is at liberty to take it. There appear to be no particular or special prescriptive rights to particular persons in regard to economic trees. Sylvan produce. 422

JABA KWOI DISTRICT

43. Some distance to the west of the Kagoro district and separated from it by a spur of the Zaria Emirate lies the Jaba Kwoi independent district. Until 1934 it was administered as part of the Plateau Province. In that year, however, it was detached from the Plateau Province and became an independent district of the Zaria Province within which the rest of the Jaba tribe reside under Emirate control. The Emirate boundary thus divides the Jabawa of whom there are about 24,500, 14,000 of whom live in the independent district and 10,500 in the Kachia district of the Zaria Emirate. This Emirate boundary marks the boundary between those Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and those who continued to resist and retained their independence by hiding in the once thickly forested valleys of their district. 101 131 [161] [648]

44. The attempt to relate territorial village units of the Jaba Kwoi independent district with separate kindreds or family groups was here, as with the Kagoro, abortive. Whatever may have been the basis of land tenure in the past there can be no doubt that it is now, in the great majority of cases, individual. The family or extended family holding of land is abundantly less common than that of the individual. The reason for this state of affairs lies, as with the Kagoro, in the continual harrying and dispersal of the original inhabitants by the Fulani. Kindred lands were of necessity widely fragmented and with neither the cohesion of a settled existence or of a compact living space the kindred holding concept was undermined. Support for this theory is very evident in the fact, reverted to in paragraph 63 below, that the Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and consequently were not widely scattered and harried still retain this concept and still have compact lands. Breakdown to individual tenure. 621 423